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JAPAN'S ROLE IN THE NEW ERA

BY

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- *Playing an economic rather than a military role.
- *Using economic power as the key to its security strategy.
- *Contributing to UN activities with personnel support.

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JAPAN'S ROLE IN THE NEW ERA

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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ABSTRACT

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Few postwar periods have been as fraught with changes of historic significance as the year 1991, from the opening of the Gulf War in January, to the collapse of the Soviet Union in December. Now a new era without the East-West ideological discord is beginning, but the international community's future is still fraught with uncertainty and instability.

Japan, especially with its economic power, now has considerable influence upon the international community. It is time that Japan begins to play an active role commensurate with its international stature. Because the Gulf crisis has put Japan in a dilemma of great proportions regarding its contribution to the coalition efforts, Japan has been forced to debate on how it will make future contributions to the international community, particularly in terms of personnel. Japan needs to return to the basic issues concerning its role in the world and therefore must consider how it will make the most appropriate contribution across the entire spectrum, from financial assistance to troops under a UN flag.

This paper emphasizes the following steps as Japan's role:

- * Playing an economic rather than a military role.
- * Using economic power as the key to its security strategy.
- * Contributing to UN activities with personnel support.

INTRODUCTION

Today's world is undergoing rapid and unprecedented change. The world is now at an historic turning point created by the collapse of the Soviet Union and Communism.¹ We are witnessing developments which common sense was not able to predict. The shock waves from the changes now taking place in Europe and other regions are having an impact on the Asia-Pacific area as well.²

Now the Cold War is finished and a new era beyond the Cold War is beginning. Since the end of World War II, the basic international framework has been shaped by East-West relations focused on two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. But now the bipolar world is changing and a multipolar world is beginning. Nuclear war and large-scale military conflict will be deterred more strongly, due to recent developments in the international situation.³

As a whole, the East-West relationship characterized by ideological discord that has continued for more than 40 years has started to change and a new relationship based upon dialogue and cooperation on a growing range of issues has started to emerge.⁴ Nevertheless, these changes have only just begun.

On the other hand, these developments are giving birth to new problems concerning national security, such as a new framework for national security in Europe based on the collapse of the

Soviet Union and the fear of the onset of a situation that makes it easier for conflict in the Third World area.⁵ Even though East-West ideological discord has been diminished, there are still conflicts of interest among countries. Regional conflicts persist, and there is no reduction in the possibility for the eruption of new conflicts.⁶ Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is a good example here. The new era must be said to be fraught with uncertainties, complexities, and instabilities.

Japan, with its economic might, has emerged as a world power. From now on, it should play a role commensurate with its national strength in the international community. The world's eyes are on Japan for this very reason. Whether or not a nation has great power is no longer determined just by its military strength.⁷ Economic issues are expected to have an increasingly important impact on political issues in the new era.⁸ Japan should make an even greater effort to fulfill its responsibilities and play an important role more vigorously for the stability and prosperity of the international community.⁹

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the characteristics of the new world situation and suggest Japan's most appropriate role in the new era.

CHANGING WORLD CIRCUMSTANCES

Changes in the Soviet Union and Europe

East-West relations have formed the keystone of the world's military situation since the end of World War II. Now, these relations are in the process of dramatic change, centered on Europe.¹⁰ The countries of Eastern Europe set the stage for the most dramatic moments beginning in 1989, while the Soviet Union brought down the curtain with its collapse by the end of 1991.

The demise of the Soviet Union means the end of the period of U.S.-Soviet Union confrontation. A world without the Soviet Union has come. Though the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS: the Russian Federation and 10 other republics) has made a start, it has a number of unstable issues to face. The ambiguity surrounding the situation within the Commonwealth of Independent States is one cause of uncertainty when looking at the future of international relations. Yet most serious of all are the grim economic difficulties currently facing the CIS.

Such circumstances could change the present security environment in Europe drastically, and accordingly, a new framework as a measure to ensure new security and stability in Europe is being researched.¹¹ Consistent with these moves to create a new order for European security, there have been several proposals made on strengthening the CSCE, which is assuming a greater

importance as a venue for discussing issues related to the future of Europe.¹²

One of the other major developments in the move for the formation of a new order in Europe is that of EC political integration. Several East European countries, troubled with the trials of this revolutionary period, are hoping for EC membership.¹³

For the future, it is expected that the EC will be the political and economic core of Europe and that, drawing in the countries of Eastern Europe, it will have a decisive say in the formation of a new European order.¹⁴ In dealing with these changes in the security climate, NATO has conducted a review of its role and strategy.

Changes in the United States

The United States is facing a number of serious domestic problems, ranging from the continuing high budget deficit, to the scourge of drugs and the worsening condition of the nation's inner cities.¹⁵ The Bush Administration has been urged to cut defense expenditures out of necessity to reduce the nation's deficit and to respond to the "peace dividend" calls from Congress against the background of developments on the international scene, such as recent changes in the Soviet Union and the East European nations.¹⁶

The so-called "twin deficit: fiscal and trade deficit" which poses a serious problem not only to the U.S. economy but to the world economy as a whole, still remains on a high level.¹⁷

The loss of competitiveness is weakening U.S. economic influence in the world. The United States plans to reorganize its military forces for forward presence. So it may consider reducing combat forces in response to cuts in defense expenditures and a change in the security environment. The U.S. is already urging Allies to increase their burden sharing efforts in view of its own financial difficulties and the Allies' increasing economic strength.¹⁸

While Americans are becoming less conscious of the Soviet threat in the wake of changes in U.S.-Soviet relations, observers see an increasing threat from Japan's economy and technology, which creates economic friction between the U.S. and Japan.¹⁹

Changes in the Asia-Pacific Region

The recent changes in the Soviet Union and the radical changes in Europe since 1989 have also had an impact on the Asia-Pacific region. UN membership for both North Korea and South Korea, developments in Korean dialogue, the peace in Cambodia and the democratization in Mongolia are all related, directly or indirectly, to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the developments in Europe such as the unification of the EC.

In particular, the internal and external situation on the Korean peninsula has changed drastically. The dialogue between the North and South has developed rapidly toward peaceful coexistence. It is certain that the Korean Peninsula, which is a relic of the Cold War framework, stands at an historical turning point.

Development in the situation on the Korean Peninsula is very important for the security of Asia, especially Japan. While there has been some reduction in the CIS's military forces in Asia and the Far East, the CIS retains a massive military capability, including its nuclear force. China's expanding relations with the United States and West European countries slowed down after the June 4th incident and have not been restored.²²

The countries of Asia have responded in different ways to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and there is no uniformity of direction when compared to Europe. The stability and security of Europe is ensured through political processes, such as the CSCE.

However, no such multinational framework exists for peace in the Asia-Pacific region, because this region differs from Europe in terms of its geopolitical situation, its strategic environment and its divergence of views on security issues.²³

The economic growth in East Asia is contributing to the stimulation of the world economy. In particular, the ASEAN nations continue to exhibit phenomenal economic growth. Asia is gaining in economic importance, especially from the U.S. perspective. Given the changing dynamics in Asia and the perception of a diminishing Soviet threat, the United States and the Asian nations are expected to work toward strengthening their ties more along economic, rather than military strategic lines.²⁴

The Asia-Pacific region is expected to serve as a driving force for the world economy toward the 21st century. Today,

intensive discussions are in progress on the need to construct closer cooperative relationships in the region in order to further cultivate the region's potential contribution to the world economy, as well as to regional peace and stability.¹³

The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Ministerial Meeting has been held each year since 1989. Recently, a plan for the formation of an East Asia Economic Caucus (EAEC) was proposed by the Prime Minister of Malaysia. The EAEC plan excludes the U.S. as a member, so the United States is feeling the isolation caused by the EAEC Plan's conception.

Changes in Other Regions

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait proved that the eruption of new conflicts was a continuing possibility. After the Gulf War there was a movement in the Middle East region to establish new security arrangements in the Gulf, almost like the creation of a new order in the Middle East. An historic Middle East peace conference was held in Madrid during October 1991.

In Africa and Latin America, even though there have been some positive changes toward quelling civil wars, paralleling moves for democratization, there still seems to be no end to domestic disorder in the wake of harsh debt problems and the deteriorating economic situation.²⁴ Developing countries are still suffering from a myriad of economic problems. In many of these countries, economic hardships due to sluggish growth, accumulated external debt, and a growing poor class, is becoming serious.

Changes in United Nations Activities

Since its establishment in 1945, the United Nations has been active in extensive areas including peace-keeping, arms control, the North-South problem, plus social and human rights issues.²⁵ Following recent changes in the international situation, the UN has stepped up its activities, while expanding its roles and responsibilities.

The U.N. Security Council decided on comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, including armed force, for the first time in 22 years, against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.²⁶ This was noteworthy because it proves that the United Nation's peace-keeping role which was imposed on the world body in the beginning, has finally started to function, with the improvement of East-West relations.

The new trend toward dialogue and away from confrontation makes a review of the systems and functions of the United Nations necessary.²⁷

Some 28 Allied countries participated in the Persian Gulf War to defeat Iraq's military and force its withdrawal from Kuwait, an unprecedented cooperative effort.

The United Nations has started five Peace Keeping Operations (PKO) including the U.N. Iraq-Kuwait Observer Group, beginning last year (1991). This shows that PKO have become indispensable for peace keeping in the international community. Many countries actively participate in PKO by providing manpower. The importance of such U.N. functions is expected to grow in the future.

The peace-keeping operations are divided broadly into two categories: peace-keeping forces (PKF) and observer missions. In turn, the observer missions are divided into two groups: those monitoring cease-fires and those monitoring elections.

In the international community, many varied efforts are being made, including activities within the United Nations, to realize the creation of a more stable and harmonious international order. It is hoped that the United Nations will enhance its own basic function of maintaining world peace and security amid the easing of tensions in the changing world through these increased efforts.

Changes in Arms Control and Disarmament

In this changing world, continuing earnest efforts have made marked progress in the area of arms control and disarmament. The United States and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in July 1991 and a few months later both countries announced considerable cuts in nuclear weapons, the gist being the abolition of tactical nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately, arms control and disarmament talks between the U.S. and the new CIS have been complicated by additional factors such as nuclear weapons proliferation, the nuclear scientist brain drain, and arms exports, stemming from the collapse of the Soviet Union. The reorganization of the former Soviet military machine which had a force of about 3,700,000 troops, is yet another in the growing number of uncertain factors.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW WORLD

A Multipolar World

The multipolar era was born in the economic and scientific technology arenas during the early 1970's. But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Cold War that has continued since the end of World War II is dying out, replaced by the rebirth of a multipolar era on a larger scale.²⁸ The Soviet Union has dropped out of the superpower race, while the United States seems to be experiencing global declining leadership, at a time when the world still needs the United States as a leader.²⁹

For this reason, the bipolar scheme won't be replaced by a uni-polar scheme. Each country -- Japan, the United States, Russia/CIS, and the EC nations -- is moving in pursuit of its new political position in the world. As a result, the political, military and economic world map is now being redrafted.

The bipolar scheme consisted of a very easy, simple plan. The distinction between enemy and friendly countries was certain.

So, we could easily anticipate the East's countermeasures against the West's actions. Until now, we could quickly understand a problem which took place at some region, in the Cold War scenario. In contrast, the multipolar situation is confused and un-organized.

For example, each country acts in terms of its own national

interests and ego, rather than in accordance with a bipolar situation. In the multipolar world there are a lot of unstable factors which did not come to light in the days of the East-West ideological discord, such as historical territorial disputes, ethnic rivalries, religious differences, and disputes over resources.³⁰

Attenuating Unity

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc has attenuated unity among the Western powers.³¹ The end of the Cold War era means the threat of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc nations as a single military power has diminished and the passion for international unity has further weakened.

With the advent of the multipolar world, there is some dissonance among the former allied powers which formerly cooperated with each other in order to defend democracy and the free world. For that reason, the recent frictions created over the economy, especially trade and technology, are becoming a serious problem.

A new interdependent relationship among nations is a trend that progresses as time passes. Under this setting various moves are under way to search for new order and new relations in each region or between nations.

For example, the building of new international relations is expanding in Europe, to include strengthening the CSCE and the EC political structure. In Asia and other regions the building of new international relations has also been active.

This is a period of transition in which the framework for stability and new world order is being crafted to replace the old Cold War framework which formerly maintained international order. Now, there is no superpower nation that has superior military power, economic power or all the other elements of national power.

So it is a very important problem which nations operate in the role of international policemen, what each nation's role will be, how the cost burden will be shared.³² The cooperation of each nation with the U.N. playing a central role is indispensable for the settlement of conflicts and peacekeeping efforts.

Economic Influence

The rapid changes currently taking place in the international situation are in part the culmination of long years of structural changes and global developments over many years.³³

Yet the direct causes triggering these changes in East-West relations and the collapse of the Soviet Union have been economic problems such as the conspicuous sluggishness in the Soviet Union's economy and the economies of the countries of Eastern Europe, plus the resultant economic distortions introduced by the disproportionate weight of military spending.³⁴

At the same time, this collapse was also brought to light in large part by the economic development achieved in the West. It is clear that Russia/CIS and the ex-Eastern Europe countries need the economic help of the industrialized democracies to achieve success in their reforms.

The so-called "twin deficit" poses a serious problem to the U.S. economy. It remains to be seen how the West German economy can shoulder the unification burdens of the two Germanies. A huge amount of funds must be raised to improve East Germany's standard of living and basic industrial structure.³⁵

Mutual independence is growing at a tremendous rate. But the framework of the post international economy, including the multilateral free trade system, stands at an important junction, with various structural changes taking place, such as EC integration, the economic reforms in Russia/CIS and East European countries and the emergence of the Dynamic Asian Economies (DAEs).³⁶

Moreover, the accumulating debts of the developing countries pose a major problem for the world. Economic cooperation for Russia/CIS, Eastern Europe, and developing countries to stabilize their domestic situation has become a major international political issue.

The economic friction between two nations is quite a serious political issue. Therefore economic issues are expected to have an increasingly important impact on international political issues, because economic issues have a wide-ranging impact on international security arrangements.

U.S. Senator Les Aspin has identified the following differences between the old and new security environments:³⁷

<u>Old World</u>	<u>New World</u>
(Geo-political context)	
Bipolar Rigidity	Multipolar Complexity
Predictable	Uncertain
Communism	Nationalism/Religious
U.S.Dominant Western Power	U.S.Militarily No.1, Not Economically

Fixed Alliances	Ad Hoc Coalitions
"Good Guys and Bad Guys"	"Grey Guys"
U.N.Paralyzed	U.N.Viable
(The threat)	
Single(Soviet)	Diverse
Survival at Stake	Interests/Americans at Stake
Known	Unknown
Deterrable	Non-deterrable
Strategic Use of Nukes	Terroristic Use of Nukes
Overt	Covert
Europe-Centered	Regional, Ill-Defined
High Risk of Escalation	Little Risk of Escalation

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF JAPAN

National Security Policy of Japan

As exemplified by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, a large number of uncertainties have surfaced as a result of changing East-West relations.³⁸ In the present international community, there is no global organization capable of preventing aggression and, should aggression occur, effectively dealing with it.³⁹ The national security policy of Japan consists of three pillars: the deterrence provided by the United States through the Japan-U.S. security arrangements; Japan's own self-defense efforts; and diplomatic efforts to secure stability in international politics.⁴⁰

Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements

The Soviet Union has posed the greatest threat to Japanese security during the postwar period. Japan and the United States have shared a strategic interest in deterring Soviet aggression against Japan and in maintaining stability in the Asia-Pacific region.⁴¹ Throughout the cold war, security was at the core of

the U.S.-Japan relationship. But the international situation is changing now.

Nevertheless, the potential for regional instability continues to require strong cooperation between the United States and Japan in the area of security.

The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty will be 32 years old on June 23, 1992. Today the significance of that treaty continues in the following senses:

- * U.S. deterrence based on the treaty in order to maintain regional peace and stability.

- * The alliance relations between Japan and the United States as upheld by the Japan-U.S. security agreements in order to capitalize on the new international moves developing in Europe. In this regard, Japan must push for positive dialogue with Russia and other countries.

- * The framework for ensuring political stability and economic development in the Asia-Pacific region.

- * The foundation of Japan-U.S. relations, the most important bilateral relationship for Japan.⁴²

The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty has become part of the important framework needed for international political stability in the Asia-Pacific region. The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty constitutes the core of this bilateral security concept, and as shown in the formal title, "Treaty of mutual cooperation and security between Japan and the United States of America," provides not only for the defense aspect but also promotes political and

economic cooperative relations.⁴³ This bilateral security accord formalizes defense issues and cooperative relations in politics and economics, so it is a useful document.⁴⁴

These security arrangements play a critically important role in maintaining regional stability which stretches beyond Japan. Recently, two important issues have been raised in the Japan-U.S. security arrangements: increased burden-sharing by the Japanese for expenses related to U.S. forces based in Japan; and transfer of technology to the U.S. defense arena.⁴⁵

In order for the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty to function effectively, it is necessary for Japan and the U.S. to cooperate closely in peacetime as well as in an emergency. Japan-U.S. defense cooperation covers a wide spectrum, including studies based on "The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation" combined training, plus joint research and development.⁴⁶

Faced with changes in the international situation and domestic financial strains, the U.S. is planning to close some of its overseas bases and reduce its forward presence. In April 1990, the U.S. announced a three-phase 10-year program to reorganize and streamline the forward presence forces in this region, in a Congressional report titled "A Strategic Framework for the Asia-Pacific Rim, Looking Forward to the 21st Century." This program is now being implemented.⁴⁷

Self-defense efforts

It should be noted that the early stages of Japan's defense

policy were complicated by several political factors. There was the emergence of a strong pacifist sentiment among the Japanese people following their first military defeat and occupation after World War II.⁴⁸ When the Self Defense Force (SDF) was established in 1954, heightened sensitivities led many Japanese to question its constitutionality. Japan's security posture is delimited by various government policies. The constitution, upholding pacifism, sets forth in Article 9 the renunciation of war, nonpossession of war potential and denial of the right of belligerency of the state.⁴⁹ The Japanese Government maintains the following views regarding the intent of Article 9:

- * The military capability must be the minimum necessary for self-defense.

- * The exercise of the right of self-defense is restricted to the three requisite conditions: there has been an imminent and illegitimate act of aggression against Japan, there is no other appropriate means to deal with the aggression, and the use of armed strength is confined to the minimum necessary.

- * The dispatch of armed forces to foreign territorial land, sea and airspace for the purpose of using force would not be consistent with the Constitution.

- * The exercise of the right of collective self-defense would exceed the concept of "minimum necessary" force and is therefore inconsistent with the Constitution.⁵⁰

Other government policies which are based on the interpretation of the Constitution restricting Japanese defense include:

the exclusively defense-oriented policy; the three non-nuclear principles; civilian control; the arms export ban; and the principle of limiting defense spending to 1% of GNP (surpassed only in 1987, but which each succeeding Cabinet has pledged to basically maintain).⁵¹

Japan's defense policy is based on the Basic Policy for National Defense, adopted by the National Defense Council and approved by the Cabinet in May 1957. The Basic Policy for National Defense first calls for the promotion of international cooperation and other efforts for peace and the establishment of the basis for national security through such measures as the promotion of public welfare. It then sets forth the development of effective defense capabilities and the Japan-U.S. security arrangements as the basis of Japan's basic defense policy.

[Basic Policy for National Defense]⁵²

1. To support the activities of the United Nations and promote international cooperation, thereby contributing to the realization of world peace.
2. To promote public welfare and enhance the people's love for the country, thereby establishing the sound basis essential to Japan's security.
3. To develop progressively the effective defense capabilities necessary for self-defense, with regard to the nation's resources and the prevailing domestic situation.
4. To deal with external aggression on the basis of the Japan-U.S. security arrangements, pending the effective functioning of the United Nations in the future in deterring and repelling such aggression.

The basic outline for Japan's defense capability level that should be maintained in peacetime and Japan's defense buildup is

provided in the National Defense Program Outline (NDPO), established in 1976.⁵³ According to the National Defense Program Outline, Japan's fundamental policy is to deter aggression by building up a defensive posture capable of dealing with any form of aggression, while maintaining the Japan-U.S. security arrangements.⁵⁴

Since it was assumed that the United States would take primary responsibility for countering large-scale aggression, the NDPO was designed to sketch out a minimum force level that could deal with limited and small-scale aggression.⁵⁵ Since its establishment, this program has provided guidelines for shaping and improving Japan's defense.

Japan has pushed forward with its defense buildup with a view to attaining the level of the nation's defense capability laid down by the NDPO, with Mid-Term Defense Programs based on the National Defense Program Outline. But the world is now at an historic turning point created by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which formerly posed the greatest threat to Japanese security in the postwar period. Consequently, Japan now faces a critical point in the evolution of its postwar defense policy.

From 1992, the Defense agency may start a full-scale reconsideration of the NDPO, which is the guideline of Japan's Defense Policy. This review is critically important, because it is true that some Asian countries still fear Japan may become a military power in this multipolar world.

Diplomatic Efforts

Diplomatic efforts are extremely important as a means of ensuring national security, because it is very important for national security to create an environment of minimizing possibilities of aggression by fostering a peaceful international climate through these diplomatic efforts.⁵⁶

Japan-U.S. relations are founded on the alliance under the Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty and the resultant interdependence between the two economies.⁵⁷ The U.S.-Japan partnership is not merely a bilateral relationship; it has global implications. The combined Gross National Product (GNP) of these two nations accounts for approximately 40% of the world's GNP, so sharing responsibilities for bilateral issues and issues of global magnitude, is a fitting task for Japan and the U.S.⁵⁸

Japan has long formulated its foreign policy from the dual position of being both an Asian and a Pacific nation. Relations with the U. S. are important from both perspectives.

But the Japan-U. S. relationship has recently been complicated by increasingly difficult trade and economic relations. Yet it is clear that close relations between Japan and the U.S., not only in the economic sphere, but across the entire spectrum of international interests, is important for the peace and prosperity of the entire world.⁵⁹

Japan-Russia/CIS relations are now and in the future more important than ever. Yet an abnormal situation exists because no

peace treaty has yet been signed between these two neighbors.⁶⁰

For the Japanese, the primary issue is the return of the Northern Territories, small islands off the northernmost island of Japan.

Although there is still much that is uncertain about Russia/CIS's future, it is clear that Russia/CIS needs the industrialized democracies' help to succeed with its reforms.⁶¹ Most serious of all problems are the grim economic difficulties.

Russia/CIS seems eager for the normalization of relations with Japan. Future international peace and prosperity surely requires stability in major nations such as Russia/CIS. For Japan, improving its relations with Russia/CIS will produce a diversified foreign policy, one that will put Japan into the diplomatic and political ranks with the rest of the major nations.

It is equally important for Japan and for stabilization in the Asia-Pacific region, that Japan develop and deploy this diversified foreign policy.⁶² Japan should consider providing economic support to Russia/CIS. Hope is growing in both countries that a peace treaty will eventually be signed in the near future.

There is a growing awareness globally that the normalization of Japan-Russia/CIS relations are important to the entire world.

Japan-China relations have developed smoothly since the normalization of diplomatic relations. But the June 4, 1989 massacre in Tienanmen Square posed a major challenge for Japan, and normal relations have yet to recover completely.⁶³ China's relations with the U.S. and European countries chilled after this incident and have not yet been restored. But keeping China from

being isolated is very important for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region.

It is essential that the countries of Eastern Europe be supported so that there is no reversal of their efforts to introduce democracy and market economies. Support for Eastern Europe has ramifications for the stable development of the entire international community.⁶⁴

Relations with Europe are another area requiring greater efforts in connection with Japan's position as an industrialized democracy.⁶⁵ With EC integration scheduled for 1992, it is increasingly important that the Japan-U.S.-Europe triad cooperate under a policy of close political coordination.⁶⁶

Stability and development in developing countries located in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America will also influence the peace and stability of the international community.

Following recent changes in the international situation, the United Nations has stepped up its own activities. Since joining the U.N. in 1956, Japan has always placed cooperation with the U.N. as a major pillar of its diplomacy.⁶⁷

It has cooperated in U.N. activities in a wide range of areas, making the second largest financial contributions among the member States next only to the United States.⁶⁸ As Japan's roles in the international community increase year by year, Japan's contribution to the United Nations is entering a new phase.

From a global standpoint, Japan needs to cooperate in inter-

national efforts to maintain world peace, such as in the case of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, within the purview of Japan's Constitution, and to promote international efforts for arms control and disarmament.⁶⁹ Such international cooperation will directly and indirectly contribute to improvement of the national security environment surrounding Japan, and fulfillment of Japan's responsibility in the international community.⁷⁰

The international role of Japan and Germany has become the center of a debate over both countries' potential participation as permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. This, in turn, is linked with discussion about eliminating the "enemy clause" in the U.N. Charter.⁷¹

It is imperative that Japan, as the world's second largest economic power and as one of the leading surplus countries and creditor countries, play a general economic role commensurate with its position for global prosperity, plus a more specific role in the maintenance and strengthening of a free and multilateral trading system.⁷²

Japan has recently been promoting the International Cooperation Initiative grounded on the three pillars of enhancing Official Development Assistance (ODA) as a main pillar, cooperating for peace, and strengthening international cultural exchanges.⁷³

As Japan is now a major economic power within the international community, the other industrial countries have come to expect it to do more toward sharing the burden of maintaining world peace. Part of this burden, of course, is military.

However, since Japan's Constitution forbids sending military forces abroad, Japan's hands are mainly tied in this area. Actual Japanese defense spending is kept within a psycho-political limit of 1% of GNP, a much smaller percentage than for the other industrial countries.⁷⁴ Yet one area where Japan can share more of the burden is that of economic cooperation and aid for the developing countries.

The ODA's amount in 1989 made Japan the world's top donor nation, surpassing the United States for the first time. Many developed nations have failed to register increases of their assistance, perhaps as a result of weariness of providing aid. So, steady growth of Japan's aid is highly appreciated by both the developing countries and developed countries.⁷⁵

Developing countries are still suffering from various economic problems. For Japan, which is seeking ways of contributing to the international community by means other than military forces, ODA serves as an important means to promote peace and stability in the international community.⁷⁶

In allocating its ODA, Japan used to give priority to Asia (more than 60%). Recently, however, in response to growing expectations from the international community and increase in the amount of assistance, Japan has been expanding its aid to Africa, Central and South America, the Middle East, and the Pacific.⁷⁷

As a result, the number of countries which have received Japan's ODA have totalled 140.⁷⁸ In this new era, the danger of

new regional conflicts are deeply rooted in historical, ethnic, religious, and social factors peculiar to the region and show no signs of abating. It seems that most of the developing countries which receive Japan's ODA are in such regions. So, Japan can put ODA to practical use for the purpose of security.⁷⁹

Although Japan's ODA has grown to be the world's largest in quantity terms, its quality is still at a low level compared with that of other developed countries.⁸⁰

Today, Japan is one of the leading countries in the areas of science and technology, both of which are closely related to social and economic development. Other countries have raised their expectations and increased requests for cooperation in these areas. Japan now faces an important task of how to respond.

Gulf Crisis

International society made united efforts to solve the crisis arising from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. The essence of the Gulf crisis lay in the plain fact that Iraq invaded Kuwait, in violation of international law, resulting in outright destruction of peace and an open challenge to international order.⁸¹

The international community coalesced around the United Nations for the first time since the end of World War II in coping with the crisis. Finally, they expelled the Iraqi invasion by use of a U.S.-led multi-national coalition force of some 28 U.N. member states that may set the pattern for any such interventions in

the future. In addition to these forces, a number of other countries who did not participate militarily, provided material and financial assistance.

Because the Gulf area accounts for 65% of world oil reserves, the area's long-term stability is essential to securing a stable energy supply. Access to this oil is a matter of vital importance for Japan's national interest, because it depends upon this area for over 70% of its oil-based energy supply. This is another reason for Japan's stronger interest in the U.N.

During the Gulf War, Japan provided support of more than \$13 billion as part of its contribution to the actions to restore peace in the Middle East.⁸²

The government also presented a United Nations peace cooperation bill to the National Diet in the autumn of 1990. A dispatch of SDF personnel to a peace cooperation corps was provided for in the bill, and after heated debate, the bill was eventually discarded before it reached full deliberation.⁸³ Afterward, the government, on the basis of the SDF Law, readied itself for an airlift of refugees by SDF planes, although in the event, the airlift did not take place. After the truce was formally established, the government quietly sent an SDF minesweeping unit to the Persian Gulf to remove and dispose of mines Iraq had laid in the Gulf.⁸⁴

The Japanese Government next presented a United Nations peace-keeping operations cooperation bill to the National Diet in

September 1991. This PKO cooperation bill is still under deliberation. If the PKO cooperation bill is approved, Japan can then really wrestle with the contribution to the international community in terms of personnel. There is some opposition to the dispatch of PKO forces, but less opposition to participation disaster relief work overseas, as the following public opinion surveys show:

[A Public Opinion Survey of the SDF and Defense Issues]²⁵
Prime Minister's Office, conducted in February 1991
People surveyed: 3000 men and women living in Japan

Participation in peace-keeping operations

* Approve	20.6%
* Approve rather than otherwise	24.9%
* Oppose rather than otherwise	19.1%
* Oppose	18.8%
* Can't say so simply	10.9%
* Don't know	5.7%

Overseas dispatch for disaster relief work

* Approve	25.7%
* Approve rather than otherwise	28.5%
* Oppose rather than otherwise	17.0%
* Oppose	13.4%
* Can't say so simply	11.2%
* Don't know	4.1%

China and Korea have expressed anxiety about the PKO cooperation bill, echoing the response from overseas. This outside reaction has had a major impact on the deliberation of the bill.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States and the Soviet Union once had complete control over everything in the Cold War world, a fact which allowed

Japan to stay in a comfortable defensive role, under the U.S. protective umbrella, all the time. But the current multipolar world is both confused and unorganized, so nations are seeking a new structure to share in the mission and roles.

Trends point toward interdependent relationships between each nation in this multipolar world. Japan, with its strong economy has considerable influence upon the international community. This economic power is certainly formidable, but it has rarely been put to political use.

However, the Gulf Crisis put Japan in a dilemma of great proportions. No longer can Japan take a passive stand, as in paying its way out of any direct involvement in a conflict. Japan can no longer be content with following in the footsteps of the U. S., because Japan now needs to make decisions itself, to be clear about where it stands and what it believes.

The younger Japanese generation is said to dislike work involving the three K's, which stand for *Kitanai* (dirty), *Kitui* (hard), and *Kiken* (dangerous).

But in contrast, Japan as a nation should play actively such roles involving the three K's in the international stage. Japan necessarily is acquiring a larger profile in world affairs, so it cannot escape its responsibilities.

No one opposes the idea that Japan should play a political role commensurate with its economic power. However, if Japan were to play a political role, it might possibly invite suspicion from those Asian countries like Korea, the Philippines, Singapore

and Taiwan, which were Japan's victims in the past. These countries are concerned about Japan's gradual defense buildup and the possibility of Japan's becoming a military superpower.

So Japan cannot help playing an economic rather than a military role on the international stage, because of the military restrictions from both domestic and international situations. In the coming year, Japan's problem will be one of how to use its economic power in political and strategic ways to foster peace and prosperity in the world.

Solutions must be sought for the following issues if there is to be peace and prosperity in the world. Full integration of Russia/CIS and ex-Eastern Europe countries into the international community, deterrence and resolution of regional conflict, maintenance of a viable world economy, and orderly development of the Third World are the challenges of the new multipolar world.

The condition of Russia/CIS is still full of instabilities and uncertainties. What is going to happen to the vast Russia/CIS's military power, especially the management of nuclear weapons systems, is a matter of grave concern to world peace.

In the meantime, the economic reconstruction effort in Russia/CIS has yet to see the first sign of hope and it is not in the best interests of the world that Russia/CIS fall into chaos or reassume a hostile attitude toward the outside world.

So Japan should use its economic power, which has become a very useful trump card as a strategic measure in the politico-economic card game between Japan and the United States. Japan

could play this same trump card and request at least a sharp reduction in Russia/CIS's military forces in Asia and the Far East, in compensation for promised economic cooperation.

In the post-Cold War world, regional low-intensity conflicts (LICs) will continue in many parts of the world. In order to deter and resolve regional LICs worldwide, Japan should make greater contributions to U.N. peace-making and peace-keeping measures, both in personnel and financial support. Japan shouldn't shun the three K's in its international contributions.

Because the Japanese Constitution has been widely interpreted as prohibiting the SDF from a deployment of troops overseas, Japan has refrained from participating in U.N. peace-keeping missions. But now Japan should get back to the starting point over its international contribution and should try to reach a consensus that active participation in the U.N. peace-keeping forces (PKF) comes within its peace Constitution.

For the peace and security of the Asia-Pacific region, the Japan-U.S. security arrangement will be one decisive factor, not only in the area of defense but also in political, economic and social areas as well. The Japan-U.S. partnership is not merely a bilateral relationship, but one with far-reaching consequences.

The Japan-U.S. security arrangements do not work smoothly when only the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is considered. Both countries must strive to maintain and enhance the credibility of these accords. The U.S. government wants Japan to continue its burden-sharing efforts (measures for stationing of U.S. Forces in

Japan, etc).

Japan's independent initiative is vitally important for the credibility of security arrangements with United States. Of course, Japan has to maintain its own self-defense capability.

Japan can use ODA as a non-military instrument to resolve conflicts among Third world countries. Namely, Japan can put ODA to practical use as a security strategy. Japan can also use its economic power to directly contribute to global peace and security in a novel and innovative way.

Even though it is an island nation, Japan can use its economic power not only to resolve conflicts, but also to deter them. The Gulf War proved how dangerous the world can be if non-discriminating transfers of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is allowed to proceed.

So, Japan should use its strategic power to control arms exports, especially to countries that have obvious risks.

Having grown to be a major economic power, Japan bears an important responsibility for ensuring sustainable development of the world economy. The remarkable deepening of economic interdependence has increased economic frictions. Japan must take some initiatives to stop the rising tide of protectionism, plus maintain and solidify the open international economic order.

Many developing countries still face economic difficulties of a serious magnitude such as accumulating national debts. The gap has tended to widen between the advanced economies or "haves" (including the Newly Industrializing Economies-NIEs) and Third

World countries. Japan ought to expand the availability of its economic cooperation, to include investment funds and ODA, while considering the strategic use of this economic cooperation.

The world today is still fraught with various unstable factors, while there is a positive prospect for a new era beyond the Cold War. In the such a situation, Japan must assume greater responsibility and play an increasing role in all areas of international relations so that it can further contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world. Such contributions would ensure not only Japan's security but also help the peace and security of Asia and even the world as a whole.

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